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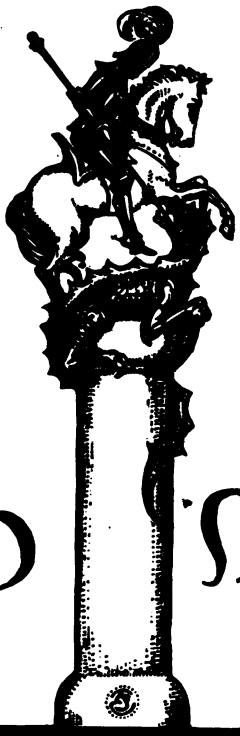
The Gift of Friends

1917



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NATION OF NATIONS

A GOVERNMENT OF GOVERNMENTS

THE WAY TO
PERMANENT PEACE

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The author of this volume is so well known, his views herein set forth should attract the widest attention in the United States and other countries.

His powerful novel, "The Magnet," was extensively reviewed by all the leading papers in this country and many in Europe. His volume "U. S. Money *vs.* Corporation Currency" attracted wide attention among economists and helped shape the course of recent financial legislation. His views were asked by congressional committees, and he appeared personally before the banking and currency committee of the United States Senate in advocacy of currency reform legislation.

As an able lawyer of Cincinnati, Ohio, and a student of constitutional and international laws, Alfred Owen Crozier in this volume has presented to the world, in definite form, a far-sighted, comprehensive, and practical solution of the supreme problem of peace and war. In fact, it is the only workable plan yet suggested, and the great minds of the world are all drifting that way.

The "Crozier Plan," although tentative and subject to modification, surely will attract attention throughout the civilized world. It may be the only basis on which the nations can agree. Thoughtful Americans should study it with care. The facts herein set forth are startling.

STEWART & KIDD COMPANY
PUBLISHERS - - CINCINNATI

Nation of Nations

The Way to Permanent Peace

A Supreme Constitution for the Government of Governments

BY

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER

Financial Author, Novelist, Lawyer, and Writer on International Problems, and Political, Social, and Economic Policies.

STEWART & KIDD COMPANY

PUBLISHERS - - - CINCINNATI

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MARCH 15, 1917

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ALFRED OWEN CROZIER

Dedication

This volume is sacredly dedicated to the memory of the millions of our brothers killed in this last great world-war—the Armageddon of holy prophecy. They were offered up a final ghastly human sacrifice to the Demon of War, now to be forever banished by the will of the world.

They died martyrs, helpless and innocent victims of a cruel system, a false philosophy; died that the balance of the race might live freed forever from the fear, danger, and burdens of war.

6813.11

HARVARD COLL
FROM THE L
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ALFRE

Introduction.

The world is at war and the other half is ed by serious dangers. This fact has d a new world problem. The supreme ion of this grave hour is to devise some uble plan that will make another world- forever impossible.

The United States, as the only great nation engaged in the struggle, must propose the , if it is to be seriously entertained. It igh time the people of this country began consider the matter.

The plan suggested in this volume, of ourse, is tentative. It is subject to such odification as world-wide thought and dis- ussion proves to be wise. Perfection is not laimed or attainable. Concession and com- promise will be necessary if bitterly warring nations with conflicting interests are to be brought into cooperation on any plan. Treaties and alliances do not prevent war or guarantee peace. Would a "League of Peace" treaty do it?

If the war goes to a finish—does not end in a mere temporary armed truce, to be re- sumed in more violent form later—the na- tions for the first time in history will be will- g to seriously consider general disarmament d means for insuring permanent peace. ut the plan must be practical, workable.

INTRODUCTION

Unless civilization is a failure, and the race impotent to protect itself against legalized human slaughter, the nations now will adopt a plan that will forever safeguard mankind and inaugurate a thousand years of peace and happiness—the promised millennium.

On August 10, 1914, one week after the world-war began, the plan suggested in this volume was prepared. The outline of same, given in full in Chapter II, was mailed to the President of the United States, August 18, 1914. He referred it to the Secretary of State, as mentioned in the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, September 17, 1914.

MR. ALFRED O. CROZIER,
Wilmington, Delaware.

Sir:

The Secretary of State directs me to acknowledge the receipt, by reference from the White House, of your letter of August 18th, enclosing your article entitled "The World War—And After", and in reply to inform you that this is not a matter regarding which the Department should express an opinion. As the article may be desired by you, it is returned herewith.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

1 Enc.
as above stated.

MANTON M. WYDELL,
Private Secretary.

INTRODUCTION

The suggestion was sent to Washington last year, and given to the press and published in October, 1914, in the hope of inducing public thought on a question likely to become important in due time.

Subsequent events appear now to justify publication of the plan in more complete and definite form. A tentative draft of a Supreme Constitution for the Nation of Nations is submitted herewith. Time for its preparation was short, and many imperfections will be found; but it is hoped the work may be of some public service. The most searching analysis and criticism of the plan will be welcomed. That is the way to discover and separate the good from the bad.

May we not, however, justly ask those who may be inclined to brush it aside entirely, without due consideration, to first propose and describe a practicable substitute? We must have some plan, and very soon, if humanity ever is to enjoy permanent peace and be free from the dread and menace of devastating and deadly wars.

THE AUTHOR.

College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio,
June 20th, 1915.

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A Supreme Constitution

A Supreme Constitution and complete framework for a great, new, supreme, independent, representative world-power, in which all civilized nations will be equitably represented, is herein given in full. It will be a real Government of governments, not a federation of nations—a separate, complete, sovereign nation with its own army and navy, not an "entangling alliance" called "League of Peace."

The plan is designed to accomplish speedily a universal reduction of armaments, decrease militarism and its burdens, establish an adequate, practical, and efficient police power to guard the world's peace and abolish wars between nations forever.

The outline printed in Chapter II was first submitted to the President of the United States on August 18, 1914, two weeks after the world-war began. Everything happening since has confirmed the necessity for this plan. As some plan soon must be proposed to the warring nations by the United States, every American should study this plan at once, and the startling facts herein given.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CHAPTER I

Armageddon

Armageddon

THE nations of the earth are very close to world-chaos. One false step by the United States may pitch them all headlong into the bottomless chasm. Few realize the imminence and extent of the danger.

This country now is civilization's one great remaining balance. It must keep out of the conflict, whatever the cost or provocation. Its present duty to humanity as a whole is higher than its obligation to resent with arms any offense against its dignity or interests. It must show the courage of self-restraint, and wait to settle in a proper manner its own score until other nations have returned to national sanity and are in position to resume guardianship of civilization. There always must be at least one great nation in position to bind up the wounds of humanity and urge or compel reasonable peace.

Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan, Italy, Servia, Montenegro, and Turkey are all officially at war. Vast dominions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America are in the awful turmoil; Mexico, also, is in a desperate plight.

This year of our Lord, 1915, finds nearly two thirds of the world's 1,600,000,000 in-

habitants involved directly, and the balance indirectly. Is it the Armageddon of sacred prophecy?

There is growing disregard by belligerents of international laws, the rights of neutral nations, and rules of civilized warfare. The United States is the only great country in position to exercise any effective moral restraint. If this country should take sides, all neutral nations soon would become involved. Every inch of the earth's surface and the entire human race then would be drawn into the vortex of brutal strife.

As the bloody contest increased in violence, one civilized restraint after another would be abandoned. Reprisal might follow reprisal until the struggle became one for existence, and degenerated into absolute savagery. No one could predict the end. The imagination is staggered and stunned by contemplation of the possible breakdown of all civilization, if not the virtual extermination of the human race.

The Carnage

Twenty million men are under arms. The figures are so large they cease to impress the human mind. These armed men now have but one supreme thought, one present ambition. Each, in the passion of revenge, deliberately seeks to shed human blood, to kill with his own hand a brother man.

The slaughter of human beings with

modern killing devices rivals in mechanical perfection and effectiveness the means for butchery in the shambles of an American abattoir. The rivers of Europe actually run red with human blood. The soil of millions of acres is being fertilized with the decaying bodies and bones of intelligent and good men who were "created in the image of their Maker." The souls of all were sent to doom prematurely and deliberately by the hand of man in the international duel no one can satisfactorily explain. They were guilty of no crime, but were killed in cold blood by other equally innocent men under orders of superior officers representing "Government." *That is War!*

The sacred command, "Thou shalt not kill," has been made a ghastly joke.

How much longer will the people of the world, who always bear the brunt of battle and after-burdens of war, permit a few men in temporary authority to order war and start millions of men, who have no personal grievances, to shooting and stabbing each other to death? Government by the consent of the governed will be greatly extended after this war.

The multiplying fields of carnage are beyond description. Facts would stagger humanity and endanger the sanity of all mankind. A merciful censorship conceals the frightful details. History finally will record the truth, and future generations are likely

to regard as semi-savages the people of the present day.

The Results

There will be slight changes of national boundaries on the world's map. They will be relatively unimportant. Undestroyed populations will remain and toil, plant and harvest as before. Some will be under a different flag, but they can not be pushed off the earth.

Other results of the war will be more serious. An estimate of property losses would be so high in billions, no one could comprehend the figures. The homes of millions upon millions are destroyed. Probably nearly twenty million people, men, women, and children, are homeless and destitute; and the number grows daily by thousands. Their terror as the red demon of war again and again sweeps over them, while concealed in dark, damp cellars over which buildings are crumbled by shot, shell, and fire, can be imagined.

The aggregate public debts of warring nations no doubt will be doubled. The cost of the struggle to date approaches or exceeds twenty billion dollars, or nearly three times the seven billions comprising the entire stock of gold of the forty-two nations of the earth. If the war is long, the cost may equal the thirty-nine billions that was the total bonded debts of all nations when the war began. That would double the mortgage on the

human race. It is all payable in gold, principal and interest.

The yearly interest on government debts will exceed the total of all the gold in the world available for commercial use. Vast volumes of principal each year must be paid in gold, or refunded over and over on ever-higher terms imposed by the creditors. New bonds will be issued every year for hundreds of millions to meet deficiencies in revenues and interest. Humanity thus will continually sink deeper and deeper into the quicksands of hopeless debt. It is certain this debt legacy of war never can be paid or even reduced if armaments are to be increased or maintained.

Unless the fear and danger of wars are now permanently removed in some practical way, crushed toiling humanity, staggering under the increasing financial load, will revolt, and general repudiation and financial chaos is certain. In one way or another, by direct or indirect means, the tax burdens of the world ultimately fall largely upon the masses of the people. They also do most of the fighting in war.

The derangement of industry, trade, and commerce, and the loss of international business due to passion and hate caused by war, are material losses that can neither be estimated nor imagined.

The moral loss to the world will be greater than the material. The rising generation has had its patriotism stirred to the limit, and is

taught that wholesale war-murder is not only justifiable, but an evidence of courage and virtue. It will require centuries to obliterate this false doctrine. School histories will glorify events of carnage and magnify the wrong ideals. Civilization and the arts of peace have had an awful setback. War heredity as well as environment will indelibly impress unborn millions with false character and a tendency toward violence, cruelty, hate, passion, and other grave vices.

The average death rate of the world will be greatly increased indefinitely because of conditions created by this war. It is likely that at least two million men will be killed. Many times that number will be incapacitated by wounds and disease.

The fair lands of Europe are being filled with widows, orphans, and cripples. Wounds and disease are doing their worst. Misery, want, suffering, and despair will be visible everywhere for years to come. The scars of war will be upon the face of each home and sorrow infest every family.

What is it all for? Why was it necessary? What has been gained? These are the questions that must be answered. When the books are balanced and the meager gains deducted from the frightful losses, most of the losses will remain. They must be paid by the people. A thousand gallons of sweat for each drop of human blood shed must be the

portion of humanity as it toils for the next century to carry the extra burdens imposed by one year of world-war.

Does it pay? What is to be done to prevent another such catastrophe in the near future?

CHAPTER II

Permanent Peace Plan

The World War—And After?

Following is the outline of a suggested plan for obtaining reduction of armaments and permanent world peace, written August 10, 1914, and submitted to President Woodrow Wilson, August 18, 1914:

THE United States will take a leading part in ending the prevailing world-war. It is the only strong nation in position to be an umpire acceptable to all warring nations. President Wilson recognized this fact in tendering his good offices.

This nation should use its dominant influence for a plan that will insure permanent peace, without insanely large universal armaments. It must not help patch up a mere temporary armed truce that can only mean a still greater war later and unbearable burdens upon all humanity meantime. Now that war is unavoidable and in progress, it should be allowed to proceed until all nations so clearly realize the futility and folly of war that they will gladly co-operate in adopting a settlement of past differences and a plan of future action that will make another great international conflict forever impossible. That course will sacrifice more lives now, but less in the end; and it will rescue the world from perpetual strife and insure the onward march of true civilization until it reaches its divine goal.

"Fruits of Victory"

There will be alternate victories and defeats on either side—many of them. The struggle may go on until ammunition and supplies are largely exhausted and all combatants are weakened and unable effectively to continue. On the other hand, the accidents of war may suddenly result in a victory for one side or the other that will be overwhelming and decisive. One must finally suffer defeat and the other win success. Then will come the necessity of agreeing upon terms. The "fruits of victory" will be claimed by the victors, who will desire to impose on the vanquished the penalties of defeat.

The actors alone should not be allowed to settle that question. The whole world is interested in having the adjustment such that its provisions will not of necessity result in another and perhaps greater disturbance of the world's peace at some future time. Because innocent neutral nations suffer greatly from war, they have a moral right as a third party to have a voice, and perhaps a dominant voice, in framing the terms of peace. They should not allow the victor to gain territory and power that would be likely to tempt it to become a wanton aggressor at a future time, to the disadvantage of all nations, or that may cause renewal of hostilities by the defeated nations at a later day after they have again become strong. Peaceful nations have a right to enjoy the benefits of universal peace

and to demand the adjustment most likely to avoid future wars.

Any settlement that puts one race in political bondage to another will mean increased friction and race hatred and ultimate rebellion instead of peace, contentment, and happiness. The welfare of mankind and the highest good of civilization as a whole should be the guiding principles in the negotiations and agreement. Passion, greed, excessive selfishness, and revenge are things that must be sternly repressed and not allowed to control. Only the neutral powers will be able to do this. It will be a difficult duty, but unless it is done, permanent peace will be impossible.

The questions at issue should not be settled or adjusted on the field of battle while passion rules and unreasoning hate would demand unfair and unwise terms. Money indemnity might perhaps be at once agreed upon, but the adjustment of territorial and armament matters and other vital questions should be left for decision to a deliberative conference in which neutral powers would be represented and possess the balance of power. Even the victors can be made to realize that their future peace and welfare will depend upon the adoption of a wise and just basis of settlement, provided they do not themselves arbitrarily fix the terms hastily and before the blood of battle has cooled.

The United States, without desiring or accepting anything for itself, at the right

moment should bend its energies toward reference of all matters in dispute to a properly constituted world's conference or congress for decision. It should also insist that the nations agree that such conference shall have power to formulate a definite plan that will absolutely and permanently safeguard the future peace of the world. Anything short of that will mean greater armaments, higher tax burdens, and more war.

Fighting for Peace

The remark of the man who said he would have peace if he had to fight to get it is no longer a joke. Ten nations with seventeen million armed soldiers in the year of our Lord 1914 are doing that very thing. They are all fighting for peace. Each claims that it did not want to fight and that the other began the conflict. All say they are fighting for civilization with God on their particular side. Assuming that each nation at least thinks it is stating the truth, then the war is an accident that is likely to kill millions of human beings and wipe out countless billions of treasure. All concerned, including neutrals, are chiefly anxious to make another such accident forever impossible.

This world-wide war will be a failure for all, no matter which side wins, if it fails to secure permanent general disarmament and limitation of future preparation for war and the abolition of offensive and defensive al-

liances between nations by removing all necessity for such fighting alliances.

The problem of peace and protection against war can not be solved by ever-increasing armaments, mutual promises, or The Hague Peace tribunal. The failure of the plan of guaranteeing peace by individual force or by alliances is shown by the prevailing war. As the plan of getting peace by talking peace and promising to arbitrate differences would be inadequate, a new plan must be devised if the world is to ever have permanent peace.

If the combined wisdom of the world can not work out and adopt such a plan, then mankind is impotent and civilization a failure, and we must go on forever killing each other by millions to settle quarrels that at the beginning usually are petty and insignificant. I have faith in the intelligence and general good intentions of the people of all countries, and believe they can and will act to provide an effective remedy, because it is the people who bear the brunt and burdens of war. They will be likely to abolish any ruler who stands in the way of their attaining permanent peace.

Government by the consent of the governed is likely to be advanced by this war and ultimately prevail throughout the world. Meantime the plan devised must absolutely protect the rank and file of the people and all peaceful countries against the possibility of

war being started by some individual ruler who may apply the match to the powder while temporarily drunk with power or wine, or who may be possessed of an insane desire to glorify himself in the world's history by means of war and conquest. The world no longer can afford to depend wholly upon the will of any one man for peace and prosperity.

A Government of Governments

The nations are not ready to merge into a universal republic with the various countries as self-governing subordinate states. Political and race conditions and antagonism, intensified by this war, make actual union of the warring nations impossible.

Alliances or contracts between governments have caused instead of prevented war. The United States, for one, never will enter into entangling offensive and defensive alliances to preserve peace or avoid war. No nation should be forced to do so by circumstances or otherwise. Such alliances give one the power to involve both in actual war against the desire and judgment of the other.

Treaties, arbitration agreements, and other mere promises between individual nations never can be an absolute guarantee of peace or insurance against war. They are useful, help to a better understanding, and often delay hostilities; but when the inevitable clash comes, they are always found to be mere

ropes of sand. They bind the virtuous but not the vicious government.

The world must now have practical means to stay the hand of the nation or ruler that would make war on a neighbor without just cause. There must be an authority authorized to hear and decide all serious or vital international differences, with right to make a decision binding upon the disputing nations. And such central authority must have power under its exclusive control to enforce compliance with its decision by the nations concerned. Without means to back its decisions or decrees by force—adequate force—it would be impotent and useless for the purpose in view. It would be like a law without a penalty or police power to enforce it.

The supreme need of this grave hour is a world's police power with authority and means to regulate the conduct of nations toward each other and armed force sufficient to insure that no nation ever will disobey its orders or violate the world's peace on any pretext without the consent of such supreme police power.

That power should be a Government of governments. It must be over and above all governments. In it and back of it must be the moral power and sovereign force of every nation in the world.

The World's Council

The "Council of the World", "Council of Nations", or whatever its name may be,

should not be a mere conference or loose federation of nations. It should be a real government with the usual functions, a representative government framed on the general plan stated in the Constitution of the United States, with such changes as conditions may make necessary. Every civilized nation should be represented in such government on some equitable and practicable basis to be agreed upon by a conference of nations called to adjust and settle the issues of the prevailing war and to frame a plan to insure permanent peace.

The duties and powers of this world government shall be clearly defined in its written constitution, framed by such conference and ratified by the various nations, same to be binding upon all when, say, two thirds or three fourths of the nations have approved the same. Its powers should be restricted and limited to vital differences between nations, including all questions of "national honor." The Council of Nations should have no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation, except to the extent of protecting the rights of other nations against injury due to civil conflict. It shall be merely a central police power to protect every nation against unjust aggression by any other nation, and thus safeguard all nations and bestow upon the whole world forever the blessings of universal and permanent peace and prosperity. That is all.

The Council of the World should rule over no territory. It should possess no land except the title or lease of such naval stations, harbors, and military quarters as may be necessary for the proper accommodation and disposition of its armed sea and land forces.

It may be found necessary or advisable in the settlement to turn over to the Council of Nations certain disputed strategic fortresses or places involved in this conflict that might tend to cause a future renewal of hostilities, if otherwise disposed of. This might help to make the Council of Nations a sort of universal "buffer state," getting the nations together by keeping them apart and reducing the shock and friction between them to a minimum.

The Council of Nations should have its headquarters in some one country—the United States, The Hague, or other convenient place—and a suitable branch in every country. It shall not rule over peoples or empires, but merely over the corporate governments of the world respecting only the matters set forth in its constitution or charter of existence.

General Disarmament

The mortgage on the human race in form of bonds of governments exceeds thirty-nine billion dollars. It will be increased several billions by this war. All is payable in gold, principal and interest, yet there is only seven billion dollars of gold in the world and

less than half that available for commercial use.

This debt never can be paid, or even reduced, while the nations maintain their present naval and military establishments. This prodigious burden increases steadily even in times of peace. If it goes on, compound interest may double the principal every fifteen to thirty years forever. All peoples will sink deeper and deeper into this slavery of hopeless debt unless the world quickly comes to its senses and accomplishes general disarmament and provides against rearmament.

The people of every land want disarmament and reduced tax burdens and relief from other things inflicted by war and the fear of war. Every government claims to favor disarmament or at least reduction, if it can be done in a way that will not change the relative fighting strength of the nations. The United States favors it, but will not practice it while other nations are increasing their armies and navies. It would be suicide to do so. If some plan of general disarmament is not adopted, this republic should and will build a navy larger than that of any other country, and, if the fatal offensive and defensive alliance program continues, larger than any two or three other nations combined. It has the money or resources, and surely will do it if necessary.

In a world containing jealous and envious nations, all armed to the teeth, such a navy

is the cheapest and only practicable insurance of the republic against attack and guarantee of peace. The above is true in spite of the fact that the United States does not covet or desire an acre possessed by any other country, and bears no ill-will or desire for trouble with any nation on earth. But, unfortunately, it must play the martial game while it lasts, because it also is a helpless victim of that strange doctrine that peace is the fruit only of frequent wars and preparation for war.

The only reason general disarmament, at least partial, has not already been accomplished is that no one has invented a practical plan that was acceptable to all nations and would not change their relative military and naval strength. Such a plan must now be devised and adopted. This war will make that imperative; the people of all countries will demand it. It is the one opportunity for civilization to prove that it is a real civilization and can work out and impose upon the entire world a practical and effective plan that will greatly reduce the armament of each nation and also insure the world against future increase of armaments by any of the nations. This can be done easily and quickly, and in the most simple manner.

A World Navy

The conference that creates the permanent Council of Nations should require every nation to turn over to such world government,

by gift or lease, a substantial portion of all its best naval and military equipment, to be held and used as an effective police power to prevent all future war between individual nations not authorized by the Council of Nations. This combined force will be greater than the force of any nation or any two or three nations. Its size can be steadily reduced as the nations reduce and dispense with their remaining armaments and future conditions justify. The combined military organization should be relatively small, made up largely of trained officers of various nations—a skeleton army; but each country shall maintain a small force, subject to call and use by the Council of Nations, to sustain its authority and enforce its orders anywhere in the world. The expense or cost of the Government of governments shall be equitably apportioned between the nations.

The various details and the form, scope, and powers of the Council of Nations, of course, must be carefully worked out by the world's conference after study and thought and world-wide discussion. This plan at least would provide means for uniting the great and powerful moral sentiment of the people of all nations and bringing that tremendous force quickly to bear direct upon the evils to be removed for the safety of each country and the good of civilization as a whole.

It is easy to see that in some respects this plan is not ideal, or desirable if a better one

can be devised. There will be great difficulties to surmount. But the solution of such grave problems in a crisis usually is a choice of evils, and better than doing nothing.

Any plan of this character, so devised and adopted, is certain to be carefully framed to safeguard the reasonable and legitimate rights of all concerned. It will provide against all possibility of abuse, and, therefore, in the absence of another and more feasible plan, will be likely to give fairly general satisfaction. With the administration and powers divided between and exercised by the joint action of representatives of so many countries not specially interested in a particular dispute that may arise between any two nations, the system should safely check and balance the use of the functions of the Council of Nations and guard against unfair discrimination and insure exact justice to all concerned. No nation will then care to outlaw itself in the eyes of all nations by running amuck or seeking to use the Council of Nations in any way to gain unfair advantage over another nation, weak or strong.

The friendly fraternizing of representatives of all nations and races for mutual benefit, on terms of equality and for a high and noble purpose, is an important advantage of this plan. This in itself may solve many problems and ward off many dangers, because every nation and person is in fact better than some prejudiced minds realize. If nations and

races were better acquainted, they would be better friends.

If this plan, or some modification of it, can be adopted and used in the right spirit, every act being open and before the whole world, it will tend powerfully to bind up the wounds of nations caused by this war and allay race hatred, envy, and jealousy, and be a long step toward final attainment of the brotherhood of man and the golden rule in intercourse between nations.

No other human road seems open and ready for the approach of that desired millennium when the teachings and spirit of the Nazarine shall prevail in the hearts and affairs of all mankind.

Before this suggested plan is dismissed from thought and consideration as unwise or impractical, it is earnestly hoped that the reader will at least try to think of another that will be better and more certain of adoption. Some plan must be devised soon, and the welfare of the whole world depends upon its wisdom.

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER.

College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.
August 10, 1914.

Nearly a year of world-moving war has taken place since the above plan was first proposed. Many of the predicted occurrences now are matters of actual and thrilling history.

Has not the recent course of events fairly justified the suggestions then made? What practicable alternative plan has been proposed?

Encouraged by the apparent drift of world-sentiment toward some such remedy, the actual draft of a supreme constitution, presented in full in the next chapter, is offered as a possible framework or tentative basis on which to build the proposed Nation of Nations.

CHAPTER III

Supreme Constitution

Supreme Constitution

Preamble

Led by Providence and impelled by the recent experience of war that involved half of the entire human race directly and the other half indirectly, the nations of the world participating in this action have resolved to cooperate with each other as herein provided to abolish armed conflicts between nations; establish, maintain, and enforce international peace; promote justice, concord, and friendship between nations, governments, peoples, and races, and thereby increase the safety, liberty, intelligence, happiness, and general welfare of all mankind.

To accomplish and insure those high objects, the nations of the world, assembled in a Congress of Nations, have, and hereby do, firmly and permanently create and establish a new, independent, sovereign, and internationally supreme representative world-power, nation, and government with the name, jurisdiction, powers, limitations, and duties set forth in this supreme constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name and Policy

Section 1. The name of the nation and government hereby created shall be "Nation

of Nations"; and it shall possess and exercise all of the usual powers and duties incident to national sovereignty except as same are changed, modified, limited, or defined herein.

Section 2. The normal condition of human society being peace, it is a supreme right of mankind as a whole to enjoy the blessings of universal peace free from the dangers or menace of international armed conflicts. The obligation of each nation to other nations and to humanity to help maintain the world's international peace for the good of all nations and peoples is hereby declared to be primary and supreme, and higher than its other obligations of national sovereignty. Any nation that does not accept or conform to the above declared supreme policy shall be considered irregular in the family of nations and subject to surveillance and regulation by the Nation of Nations in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

Section 3. The Nation of Nations shall forever recognize and observe the sovereign right of each civilized, orderly, supporting nation or country to—

(a) Exclusively control as to all matters within its own territorial boundaries and possessions where the legal rights of other nations or their citizens, subjects, or inhabitants are not involved.

(b) Regulate, except as otherwise herein provided, the terms and conditions on which any alien shall be admitted to its territory,

and determine the privileges aliens shall enjoy while in such territory.

(c) Exclusively determine the rates, terms, and conditions on which foreign commerce shall be admitted to its markets or territory so long as same are applied and enforced impartially and without discrimination between supporting nations.

Section 4. Each civilized, orderly nation with more than two million population that was represented in and officially approves, accepts, and ratifies, within a reasonable time, the proceedings of the Congress of Nations respecting the creation and establishing of the Nation of Nations, and this constitution, shall be deemed a supporting nation of the Nation of Nations, and as such entitled to representation therein as hereinafter provided while such supporting nation remains in good standing.

Any other civilized, orderly nation with more than two million population may apply for admission to representation; and when duly accepted and admitted shall also be deemed a supporting nation, with like effect, privileges, and duties.

Section 5. Any supporting nation shall cease to be in good standing, and at the option of the Nation of Nations shall forfeit its right to representation in and to enjoy the benefits of the Nation of Nations, and may be suspended or expelled or otherwise dealt with, whenever such supporting nation shall

(a) Neglect or refuse, without being excused, to pay within one year, after it is due and demanded, any police power tax lawfully levied against it by the Nation of Nations.

(b) Neglect or refuse, without being excused, for a period of two years, to be represented in the Nation of Nations as herein provided.

(c) Neglect or refuse to comply with the provisions of this constitution and the lawful orders and laws of the Nation of Nations, or shall fail to further, in every reasonable way by moral means and influence in all sincerity and honor, the high purposes and objects set forth in this constitution.

(d) Threaten or engage in any armed conflict with another nation without the express approval of the Nation of Nations first obtained, except such conflict be to defend itself when wrongfully attacked by another nation.

ARTICLE II

JURISDICTION

Section 1. The Jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations shall be of three kinds, namely: (a) General Jurisdiction; (b) Special Jurisdiction; (c) Police Power Jurisdiction; and such Jurisdictions, respectively, as to their powers, duties, character, extent, conditions, and limitations, shall be as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Its General Jurisdiction shall

be over all supporting corporate nations that shall have become qualified hereunder for representation in the Nation of Nations, and not over the citizens, subjects, or inhabitants of such nations or any specific empire or territory; and, subject to the provisions hereof, throughout all future time the Nation of Nations in all things shall be impartial and just and in no way discriminate between supporting nations in good standing in the exercise of the sacred duties, privileges, and powers hereby entrusted to its honor.

Section 3. Its Special Jurisdiction shall be over—

(a) All high seas and waters of the world more than three miles from the exterior boundaries of the lawful territories and possessions of all organized sovereign nations; such Jurisdiction to be sovereign and exclusive.

(b) All the lands of the world not now owned by any organized nation or state, such Jurisdiction to be sovereign and exclusive; and when any such lands shall be adequately populated with civilized inhabitants capable of establishing and maintaining self-government, such a government shall be created and maintained under the protecting shelter and counsel of the Nation of Nations.

(c) All territory or parts of territory owned or possessed by any organized nation and in which civilized, orderly government and safety of human life has ceased to exist; such

Jurisdiction, however, shall only be in trust and temporary, the powers of government to be restored to the inhabitants when orderly government and a state of safety have been reestablished.

(d) Territory or parts of territory accepted when voluntarily and lawfully ceded, transferred, or leased to the Nation of Nations by the formal action of the regularly constituted government of any organized nation or country or with the approval of a majority of its voting inhabitants; and the civilized inhabitants of such territory shall, when qualified, be granted the largest measure of self-government consistent with their character and intelligence and the world's welfare.

(e) All territory or parts of territory or waters accepted when ceded, transferred, or leased to the Nation of Nations in compliance with, or by reason or operation of any lawful award rendered in an arbitration respecting such territory or waters, to which those interested are voluntary parties.

(f) All property, rights, easements, franchises, works, territory, waters, straits, harbors, fortresses, and places of naval, military, or other value deemed by the Nation of Nations to be needed to enable it to properly carry out its constitutional purposes, powers, and objects or for its principal seat of government or its agencies, and which it may accept when acquired by voluntary gift, grant, lease, or purchase by mutual agreement from the

nation or country owning or possessing same or by lawful arbitration award or with the formal approval of three fourths of the supporting nations or under the peace terms or other agreement between warring or disputing nations in disposing of the prizes or fruits of war or property or territory in controversy; the Jurisdiction in all such cases shall be sovereign and exclusive except as same may be modified or limited by the express provisions of such purchase, gift, grant, lease, agreement, award, approval, or peace terms.

Section 4. The Police Power Jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations shall extend throughout the world and over all lands and waters of the earth and the air above, but only for the following purposes:

(a) To prevent, suppress, or regulate armed conflicts between sovereign nations and to promote or guard the peace of the world.

(b) To prevent, suppress, or regulate armed conflicts between a sovereign nation and a portion of the inhabitants of another nation or country or between the inhabitants of parts of two or more nations or countries.

(c) To restrain, regulate, or punish any sovereign nation or country that, without the express approval of the Nation of Nations first obtained, threatens or wages or permits its inhabitants to wage a war of aggression against another sovereign nation or country or the inhabitants thereof, or that initiates

and commits any unauthorized act of international hostility.

(d) To support with arms or otherwise any sovereign nation or country wrongfully attacked by another sovereign nation or country; and if the wrongfully attacked nation be one of the supporting nations in good standing, it shall be the duty of the Nation of Nations to come to the assistance of such supporting nation with arms or otherwise in accordance with the constitution, laws, regulations, and orders of the Nation of Nations.

(e) To invite and authorize other sovereign nations to support the Nation of Nations in any emergency with military and naval forces or otherwise in exercising its legal powers or in carrying out its lawful purposes; but it shall have no power to require or compel such armed support.

(f) To authorize and regulate the use or occupancy of the high seas and other waters and territories under its Jurisdiction by other nations and countries and their citizens, subjects, or inhabitants; and all supporting nations in good standing shall enjoy such use and occupancy on equal terms and conditions.

(g) To execute and enforce the constitution and lawful orders, laws, decisions, awards, or decrees of the Nation of Nations or its legally authorized courts or tribunals.

(h) To require admission of its representatives, officers, agents, and forces into any part of the territory, possessions, and

waters of any nation or country for the purpose of lawful investigation and legal carrying out its constitutional functions, powers, purposes, objects, and duties, including the protection of the lives of citizens, subjects, or inhabitants of other nations therein; but the Nation of Nations in no way shall interfere in the domestic, political, educational, religious, social, industrial, financial, commercial, revenue, or business affairs of any supporting nation.

(i) To regulate, restrict, and reduce as herein provided the size and character of military and naval armaments, works, and forces of the various nations of the world, same to be done so far as practicable in a way to maintain substantially the present comparative naval and military strength and efficiency as between such nations, except that any nation may voluntarily further reduce its said strength or efficiency at will; and hereafter no nation shall at any time increase its military or naval establishment, strength, or efficiency, or offensive or defensive works or forces, or permit same to be done without first obtaining the express authorization of the Nation of Nations, and then only as so authorized.

(j) To require the immediate surrender and permanent delivery to the Nation of Nations by gift, grant, or lease with nominal rental, by each nation of the world of one half of its naval and auxiliary vessels and

equipment of each class, character, value, and efficiency, and of its military property, arms, munitions, and equipment; and on request of the Nation of Nations each nation shall provide at nominal rental for not exceeding thirty years, suitable storage and other facilities within the borders of such nation for the custody, care, and handling by the Nation of Nations of such property and additions thereto, and in every reasonable way shall co-operate with and further the lawful purposes of the Nation of Nations; any nation, however, may at its option so surrender and deliver more than one half of its property of the above character to the Nation of Nations on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon.

(k) To create, organize, maintain, regulate, reduce, or abolish any of its military, naval, police, and other executive forces, and to accept voluntary enlistments therein of citizens, subjects, and inhabitants of any nation or country on terms and conditions fixed and required by the Nation of Nations, and to compel performance of such terms and conditions; and such armaments and forces never shall be employed or used for any purpose not expressly authorized by this constitution or by lawful orders, laws, awards, decisions, or decrees of the Nation of Nations or its legally authorized branches, courts, tribunals, officers, or representatives.

(l) To impose and collect from any nation

or country against which the police power of the Nation of Nations has been lawfully used all or part of the cost of such action; and also any special pecuniary or other penalty approved by the Supreme Senate by the affirmative vote of three fourths of all its regular members.

(m) To impose and collect from the supporting nations whenever needed by the Nation of Nations for its lawful purposes or expenses, a general or special police power tax, provided that any such tax shall be approved by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote and be apportioned between the supporting nations on the basis of their authorized representation respectively in the Supreme Senate. The Supreme Senate in the interest of justice or mercy may by two-thirds vote excuse, modify, remit, or cancel any police power tax imposed on any supporting nation, or postpone its collection.

ARTICLE III

ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The government of the Nation of Nations shall consist of four co-ordinate branches—executive, administrative, legislative, and judicial; and each branch exclusively shall exercise its own functions and powers except as herein otherwise provided.

Section 2. The executive branch shall consist of a Supreme President. The ad-

ministrative branch shall consist of a Supreme Council, its regular members being Supreme Councilors. The legislative branch shall consist of a Supreme Senate, its regular members being Supreme Senators. The judicial branch shall consist of a General Supreme Court, its members being Supreme Justices and its presiding officer Supreme Chief Justice.

Section 3. There shall be the following supreme ministers at the head and in charge of the various departments, acting under control of the Supreme Council:

Supreme Minister of Peace, who shall be the chief minister of government and in charge of international relations and diplomacy.

Supreme Minister of Business.
Supreme Minister of Justice.
Supreme Minister of Laws.
Supreme Minister of Finance.
Supreme Minister of Human Welfare.
Supreme Minister of Works and Waterways.
Supreme Minister of the Navy.
Supreme Minister of War.

No person shall hold two offices or receive two salaries, except that members of the Senate, Council, or General Supreme Court may also serve as Ministers, but while doing so shall receive salary as Minister only. Ministers shall be *ex-officio* voting members of the Supreme Council and also shall have right to a seat and voice in the Supreme

Senate, but no vote unless they are regular members of that body.

Section 4. Each official, representative, agent, and employee of the Nation of Nations shall make the following official oath or declaration:

> "In the presence of the great Architect of the Universe, the supreme guardian of the peace of nations and the welfare of humanity, I hereby pledge unending loyalty to the Nation of Nations and its high purposes, and on my honor as a supreme citizen bind myself to forever observe, support, maintain, and defend its constitution, laws, and lawful orders."

ARTICLE IV

The Executive Branch

Section 1. The executive functions and powers shall be exercised by the Supreme President exclusively, except as otherwise herein provided. He shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and, with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council, shall appoint all officials authorized by the constitution or by law, except as otherwise herein provided; and, with the approval of the Supreme Council, he may any time dismiss without stated cause any official he is hereby authorized to appoint except Supreme

Justices. All such appointments and dismissals, and every official act of the Supreme President, shall be subject to ratification, rejection, revision, or substitution by the Supreme Council; and the Supreme Council shall have authority, by two-thirds vote, to require the Supreme President to perform any lawful official act it may direct.

Section 2. The Supreme President shall declare formal war against any nation, or authorize one nation to wage formal war against another nation, only when instructed to do so by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote.

When directed by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote, the Supreme President shall order and employ the armed and other executive forces and agencies of the Nation of Nations informally to execute its constitutional duties and police powers and to enforce any lawful order, law, decree, decision, or award of the Nation of Nations or its lawful courts or tribunals; provided, that the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote may suspend, stop, alter, amend, or reverse any such action.

Section 3. The Supreme President and three Supreme Vice-Presidents shall be elected and may be dismissed without stated cause or be impeached for cause by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Senate. Vacancies in such offices shall be filled in same manner within two years. The Vice-Presidents as such shall

have no executive authority; but they shall be *ex-officio* voting members of the Supreme Council.

Section 4. One of the Supreme Vice-Presidents shall be designated by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Council to be "Acting Supreme President", with full executive authority, during any unfilled vacancy in the office of Supreme President or while the Supreme President is incapacitated by sickness or absence, not exceeding two years at one time; and the Supreme Council by like two-thirds vote may substitute one Supreme Vice-President for another as such Acting Supreme President. No Vice-President shall exercise his privileges as *ex-officio* member of the Supreme Council while he is Acting Supreme President.

Section 5. A Supreme President shall be ineligible for re-election, but may be elected or appointed to any other office except Supreme Vice-President. The office of Past Supreme President is hereby created, and shall automatically be occupied by each former Supreme President so long as he lives except during the time he may occupy a different office, and unless impeached for cause while in office; and such Past Supreme Presidents shall be non-voting *ex-officio* members of the Supreme Senate.

Section 6. The regular governmental term of all officials shall be seven years, subject to the provisions hereof. The first term, how-

ever, shall begin on the organization of the Nation of Nations and end October thirty-first in the year A. D. 1923. Any official other than Supreme Justice, Supreme Senator, Supreme Councilor, Supreme President, and Supreme Vice-President, and any representative, agent, or employee of the Nation of Nations may be dismissed without stated cause any time by the branch, official, or department authorized to elect, appoint, or employ same, or may be dismissed without stated cause or impeached for cause by order of the Supreme Senate passed by two-thirds vote, or as otherwise herein provided. No person shall be an official of the Nation of Nations except while a supreme citizen of the Nation of Nations.

Section 7. Each branch and department of the government, except as herein otherwise provided, may employ and dismiss its own agents, representatives, and employees and prescribe the duties, conditions of service, and compensation, subject to approval, rejection, substitution, or amendment by the Supreme Council.

The salaries of all officials shall be fixed or revised by the Supreme Council, subject to the right of the Supreme Senate to change same by two-thirds vote within two years after official notice of such action has been given.

Section 8. The Supreme President, in person or by his legislative secretaries, may approve or veto any Act of the Supreme

Senate within thirty days after its passage. If an Act is not so approved or vetoed, or is again passed by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Senate within thirty days after such veto, it shall become law.

Section 9. Every civilized, intelligent, law-abiding, and peaceful citizen, subject, or inhabitant, male or female, of any of the supporting nations in good standing with and represented in the Nation of Nations, and every person of that character who is an inhabitant of territory or waters over which the Nation of Nations has general or special jurisdiction and who is a citizen or subject of no other nation, shall be deemed a Supreme Citizen of the Nation of Nations, and as such entitled to all of the privileges and duties of citizenship; such supreme citizenship, however, shall be automatically forfeited on loss of any of said qualifications or when the nation of such person ceases to be a supporting nation in good standing with and represented in the Nation of Nations.

ARTICLE V

The Administrative Branch

Section 1. The administrative functions and powers shall be exercised by the Supreme Council exclusively, except as otherwise herein provided. Its formal public Acts shall be called Supreme Orders, and have the authority, force, and effect of general public

laws enacted by the Supreme Senate. All official acts of the Supreme Council not intended to have the authority, force, and effect of general public laws shall be deemed informal and called Administrative Orders, resolutions, or motions. Supreme Orders shall be made public; and Administrative Orders, resolutions, and motions may be made public or kept private, as the Supreme Council shall direct.

The Supreme President in person or by his legislative secretaries may approve or veto any Supreme Order, Administrative Order, resolution, or motion of the Supreme Council adopted by the affirmative votes of less than two thirds of the voting members. If this is not done within thirty days, or same is again adopted by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote within thirty days after such veto, it shall become effective.

The Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote any time may suspend, amend, or repeal any Supreme Order or Administrative Order, resolution, or motion of the Supreme Council, or postpone indefinitely or to a future date named the time same shall become effective.

Section 2. The Supreme Council may meet and act in public or in private session, and may punish for contempt any councilor or other person making any unauthorized disclosure or publicity of proceedings or acts the Supreme Council has decided shall be private.

The Supreme Council shall determine the

time, place, and duration of its regular meetings. Special meetings shall be held on order of the Supreme Senate, Supreme President, or Supreme Council, or on written request signed by a majority of its members.

The Supreme Council may adopt rules for the regulation of its own business, proceedings, and conduct, and that of all officials, agents, representatives, employees, boards, bureaus, commissions, committees, and other bodies under its jurisdiction or control.

Section 3. The Supreme Council shall consist of the Supreme Vice-Presidents and Supreme Ministers as voting *ex-officio* members and fourteen regular members, two appointed each year, one by the Supreme President with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council and the other by the Supreme Senate, except that in the first instance the Supreme President and Supreme Senate each shall appoint seven members, to serve one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven years, respectively, provided, that if regular sessions of the Supreme Senate are not held each year, it may appoint two councilors every two years, one to begin to serve that year and the other a year later. Vacancies shall be filled in the same way within two years.

Section 4. Any councilor appointed by the executive branch may be dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council by two-

thirds vote, and any councilor appointed by the legislative branch may be dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote.

The Supreme Council by two-thirds vote may dismiss any Supreme Minister without stated cause, or same may be done by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council.

Any regular or *ex-officio* member of the Supreme Council may be suspended and barred from active service for not more than two years at one time for cause, after due hearing by the Supreme Council, by two-thirds vote; and when the Supreme Council after such hearing has suspended or refused to suspend the member, the matter may be brought by appeal before the General Supreme Court by petition of the member involved or any other member of the Supreme Council, and that court shall make final decision of the matter on its merits.

Section 5. Except as otherwise herein provided, the Supreme Council shall have exclusive authority to authorize the expenditure of moneys, make appropriations, general or specific; incur liabilities and obligations, and secure and pay same; borrow money, on government bonds or otherwise, on the faith and credit of the Nation of Nations; issue, secure, redeem, and reissue national currency, and make same legal tender lawful money; issue credit instruments and regulate

their value, payment, and use; coin metallic money and coins, and regulate the value and use thereof; make foreign coin and currency full or limited legal tender; provide against counterfeiting and other monetary frauds; devise and adopt sound monetary, banking, and international exchange systems, and authorize their extension into other countries when it deems that course advisable; and unite or co-operate with other nations in joint monetary, banking, and credit arrangements; provide gold and other reserves, maintain the gold standard of value, and keep all national currency, coin, and credit instruments on a par with gold in value.

Section 6. Except as otherwise herein provided, the Supreme Council exclusively shall control, direct, manage, and administer the business and affairs of the Nation of Nations through its own body and subordinate agencies, officials, representatives, agents, and employees, and regulate private business within the jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations; and it shall provide public revenues for the support and conduct of the Nation of Nations and its military, naval, and executive forces, and carrying out its purposes and duties and exercising its police powers, such revenues to be raised by direct police power tax on supporting nations, international commerce tax for use of the high seas and waters, tariff or customs tax, revenue, income, and monetary taxes, or otherwise; and any such

direct police power tax shall be imposed upon all supporting nations and be apportioned between them on the basis of their authorized representation respectively in the Supreme Senate; such revenue measures to be in form of Supreme Orders that may be passed, modified, or repealed by the Supreme Council. The Supreme Senate, however, by two-thirds vote, may suspend, modify, veto, or repeal such measures, and in the interest of justice or mercy may remit, reduce, cancel, or postpone the collection of any police power tax levied against any nation.

Section 7. Treaties and agreements between the Nation of Nations and other nations shall be negotiated and executed by the Supreme Minister of Peace or his authorized subordinates; but before same shall become effective or binding upon the Nation of Nations, they must be ratified by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote. Ambassadors and other representatives and agents of the Nation of Nations sent to other countries shall be subordinates and in charge of the Supreme Minister of Peace, subject to the orders of the Supreme Council. The representatives of other nations accredited to the Nation of Nations shall at all times be satisfactory to the Minister of Peace, with whom, exclusively, they shall deal, and to the Supreme Council.

ARTICLE VI

The Legislative Branch

Section 1. The legislative functions and powers, except as herein otherwise provided, shall be exercised exclusively by the Supreme Senate, its legislative Acts to be called Supreme Laws.

The Supreme Senate, except as herein otherwise provided, shall have exclusive authority to enact, amend, or repeal, by two-thirds vote, all international laws for the regulation of the conduct of nations toward each other pertaining to the herein defined constitutional objects, purposes, jurisdiction, function, or powers of the Nation of Nations; and such laws shall protect and be binding upon and control the conduct of all supporting nations of the world and the inhabitants thereof. Other supreme laws, acts, or action of the Supreme Senate shall be passed by majority vote, except as otherwise herein provided. The international and other laws, orders, acts, decrees, decisions, and awards, and the action or conduct of the Nation of Nations or its courts, tribunals, branches, officials, agents, or representatives, shall be construed, questioned, tried, or enforced only by the courts, tribunals, and branches of the Nation of Nations.

Section 2. The Supreme Senate shall be composed only of Past Supreme Presidents and Supreme Ministers, as non-voting *ex-*

officio members, and regular members, called Supreme Senators, elected or appointed by the various supporting nations or governments entitled, as herein provided, to representation in the Nation of Nations.

The supporting nations shall be entitled to representation only in the Supreme Senate, and shall not participate in the appointment or election of the members of the other three branches of the Nation of Nations or any of its departments, courts, tribunals, officials, representatives, agents, or employees.

The basis of representation by the authorized supporting nations in the Supreme Senate of the Nation of Nations shall be as follows:

Qualified nations with less than twenty million population shall each have one representative; those having more than twenty million, but less than fifty million, shall each have three representatives; those having fifty million or more population shall each have five representatives. This basis of representation never shall be changed, by amendment of this constitution or otherwise, without the formal official approval of at least three fourths of the nations in good standing and represented in the Nation of Nations.

Section 3. The Supreme Senate, by the affirmative vote of three fourths of all its qualified regular members, may invoke and adopt the Supreme Veto, and thereby annul any specified official act, order, decision, or

decree of the executive, administrative, or judicial branches, or of any department, court, tribunal, official representative, agent, or employee of the Nation of Nations; and by like vote may invoke and adopt the Supreme Mandate, and thereby require the executive, administrative, or judicial branches, or any department, court, tribunal, official, agent, representative, or employee to perform any lawful act or make any order, decision, or decree specified in such Supreme Mandate and that is authorized or permitted by this constitution.

Section 4. The power to impeach and remove from office, or otherwise punish for cause, the Supreme President, Supreme Vice-Presidents, Supreme Councilors, Supreme Senators, Supreme Justices, and Supreme Ministers shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be exercised by the Supreme Senate, exclusively, by two-thirds vote, except that it shall require the affirmative vote of three fourths of all members of the Supreme Senate to remove from office or suspend for more than one year a member of that body. The Supreme Senate may itself conduct such impeachment trial, or it may delegate same to a committee of its members or to a judicial tribunal appointed by the General Supreme Court to hear the testimony and report same, with recommendation, to the Supreme Senate for decision.

The impeachment, trial, or punishment of

any other official, agent, representative, or employee for cause shall, unless otherwise herein provided, be conducted by, or under the direction of, and be decided by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote; and said Supreme Council may refer the matter for hearing, report, and recommendation to a committee of its members or to a judicial tribunal appointed by the General Supreme Court.

Provided, that the impeachment, trial, or punishment for cause of any official, agent, representative, or employee appointed by or serving under the judicial branch shall be conducted by the General Supreme Court or its tribunals exclusively.

Impeachment for cause shall be based only on violation of the oath or declaration of office; disloyalty to the constitutional purposes, functions, powers, or lawful acts, laws, orders, decrees, decisions, or awards of the Nation of Nations or its branches, tribunals, or officials; misfeasance, malfeasance, or corruption in office; commission of serious crime other than of a political character, and refusal or neglect, for an unreasonable time, to perform the duties of office or employment.

The Supreme Senate, Supreme Council, and General Supreme Court each shall have power to discipline or punish its own members for contempt for any offense committed in its presence while in session, or for violation of its rules; and others for refusal to obey its

lawful authority or orders. Any authorized judicial or quasi judicial tribunal of the Nation of Nations shall have power to adjudge and punish for any legal contempt, subject to the right of appeal to the next higher court for reversal or approval.

Section 5. Regular sessions of the Supreme Senate shall be held as often as every two years, at such times and place as that body, by law, shall determine; and special sessions shall be held whenever it shall, by resolution, order, or on call of the Supreme President by order of the Supreme Council, or on written request signed by a majority of the regular Supreme Senators. Its sessions may be suspended or adjourned by majority vote, and ended by two-thirds vote. A majority of the regular members shall constitute a quorum necessary for the transaction of business. It may adopt rules to regulate the conduct of its proceedings. It shall elect its presiding officer, the Supreme Speaker. It shall, by law, provide governmental machinery, agencies, and means for carrying out the purposes for which the Nation of Nations was created.

ARTICLE VII

The Judicial Branch

Section 1. The General Supreme Court, as the judicial branch, shall, unless otherwise herein provided, exclusively exercise the judicial functions and powers, and devise, adopt,

alter, control, and direct a suitable judicial system and procedure for the Nation of Nations.

It shall be the supreme authority for construing, interpreting, and judicially enforcing this constitution, international laws, usages, customs, and treaties, and the laws, orders, and acts of the Nation of Nations and its branches, tribunals, officials, agents, and representatives.

The General Supreme Court, in judicial session, or its subordinate courts and tribunals, may, on request, and when it approves, act as a court of final authority and appeal from the decisions of the Supreme Court of any supporting nation on any question of international law or justice, or as a court or tribunal of arbitration of any dispute or difference between nations that is submitted voluntarily by the nations concerned; and in such cases its decision or award shall be final, and be enforced, when necessary, by the police or executive power of the Nation of Nations.

Section 2. The General Supreme Court shall consist of fifteen members, called Supreme Justices, not more than three of whom shall be citizens or subjects of any one supporting nation. They shall be appointed, and vacancies shall be filled, by the Supreme President, with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council. Supreme Justices shall

serve for life, or until incapacitated by infirmity or retirement for age, unless sooner impeached and removed for cause or dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote or by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council and Supreme Senate by majority votes. The General Supreme Court, in business session, may impeach and remove any Supreme Justice or Past Supreme Justice for cause, or punish him for any contempt committed in the presence of such court. It may request the Supreme Senate to remove, without stated cause, any Supreme Justice it deems incompetent or who refuses or neglects to diligently, faithfully, honestly, or impartially perform his official duties.

Section 3. After any Supreme Justice has attained the age of sixty years, he may be retired from active service at his own request, or at the will of the General Supreme Court in business session. When so retired, a Supreme Justice shall become Past Supreme Justice, which office he shall occupy during life at two thirds the regular salary of Supreme Justice, unless he shall resign or be impeached and removed for cause. Past Supreme Justices, on request, shall advise the General Supreme Court and its members, and perform special judicial services assigned by that body or its presiding officer.

Section 4. The General Supreme Court,

in business session, shall devise, adopt, and thereafter direct, a general judicial system that in its judgment will best further the constitutional purposes of the Nation of Nations; and it may, in its discretion, alter, amend, change, or abolish the same. To that end, it may from time to time create subordinate courts and tribunals, with such jurisdiction, powers, limitations, and procedure as it may determine; and appoint or dismiss at will the judges, arbitrators, and other officials, agents, and employees of such judicial system; and, subject to the approval of the Supreme Council, may fix their salaries and compensation.

The General Supreme Court may devise, adopt, and change supreme judicial rules to regulate its proceedings and those of its subordinate courts and tribunals, and to govern the action of its judges and other officials, agents, representatives, and employees.

Section 5. The General Supreme Court, when performing judicial duties, shall sit in judicial session, and when hearing any cause may consist of all its members or such number and members as the General Supreme Court or Supreme Chief Justice may assign for the purpose. Its decisions in judicial session shall be final, except that when the cause was heard and decided by less than two thirds of the Supreme Justices it may at the option of the

General Supreme Court be reheard and redecided by a larger number of justices.

When not in judicial session, the General Supreme Court shall sit and act in business session, when a majority of the Supreme Justices shall constitute a quorum necessary for the transaction of business.

Section 6. The Supreme Senate or Supreme Council, by two-thirds vote, may submit to the General Supreme Court in judicial session, for its informal opinion or formal construction and decision, any question pertaining to the constitutional or lawful powers, purposes, limitations, or duties of the Nation of Nations, or its branches, tribunals, courts, officials, agents, representatives, or employees, or any existing or proposed constitutional provision, law, order, or action, or any international law, usage, custom, regulation, or treaty, without first waiting for a legal controversy over the matter to arise.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

Section 1. This constitution, or any part thereof, may be amended any time by the affirmative vote of three fourths of the regular members of the Supreme Senate and three fourths of the members of the Supreme Council and three fourths of the members of the General Supreme Court;

Provided, that any amendment so adopted that changes the basis of representation of supporting nations in the Supreme Senate shall not be effective until officially approved by the governments of three fourths of all supporting nations in good standing and represented in the Nation of Nations.

CHAPTER IV

Government of Governments

Government of Governments

THE Nation of Nations will not be a federation of nations. It will not be a union of many governments. It will not be a mere treaty or agreement of alliance between countries. It will be a real government—a new, independent sovereign nation with the usual functions and powers. It will be complete within itself. It will have and support its own army and navy. Its own officials, exclusively, will direct its affairs. It will not be in alliance with or in any way depend upon or be subject to the will of any other nation.

This Government of governments will not be a democracy. It will not be a monarchy. It will be a genuine representative government. Directly it will represent all of the corporate supporting nations of the world, and indirectly the inhabitants of such nations. Its citizens will be only the citizens, subjects, and inhabitants of supporting nations, except the relatively few without regular nationality who happen to reside within its special jurisdiction.

The Nation of Nations will make its own laws; its courts exclusively will construe them, and its executive will enforce the same without permission of, or dictation by, any or all

other nations. The only limit on its acts and sovereign power will be its own Supreme constitution and the checks, restrictions, and limitations thereof. Therefore, the provisions of its constitution will be all-important to every supporting nation, and must be framed with thought and great care.

The powers of the Nation of Nations will be derived directly and exclusively from its constitution, but indirectly from the supporting nations that in an international congress shall create and establish the Government of governments and endow and harness it with a written constitution that for all time will guide and control its actions. Its final and most important basis of support, however, will be the moral approval of the public opinion of all the world's inhabitants.

It must be clear that if such constitution is carefully and wisely drawn, and the Nation of Nations in good faith and honor always follows its provisions, no harm ever can be done to the legitimate interests of any other nation in the world, large or small. The draft herein submitted, of course, is merely tentative—a suggested model. There was not time to properly condense or arrange it, or to study all its provisions fully. And no doubt some things essential are omitted. These defects, however, are unimportant, because if the plan should be seriously considered, some of the greatest constitutional authorities of the world, no doubt, will be chosen by the various

nations to represent them in the congress of nations that will work out the details and limitations of the plan and write its final constitution. In all such cases some provisions necessarily must be a compromise between conflicting views, interests, and ambitions. They may not satisfy everybody. But if the required three fourths of the co-operating nations ratify the constitution, it will fairly represent the enlightened and progressive sentiment of the world and be as perfect as is possible of attainment. That is the best that can be expected; and it is imperative to agree upon some plan if the world ever is to be freed from the burdens and dangers of excessive armaments and humanity is to enjoy in peace and security the blessings of liberty and universal happiness.

Obligation of Supporting Nations

A supporting nation that assists in establishing the Nation of Nations, or is later admitted to representation therein, in no way surrenders or modifies its own national sovereignty. It only pledges its honor to morally support the Government of governments in its high purposes for the world's welfare and the benefit of all mankind. It can not be compelled to do even that much. But its own sense of honor and obligation, and its interest in having the world's peace maintained without the necessity of burdensome duplicated armaments and war, will induce any civilized,

self-respecting nation to do its pledged duty gladly.

The penalty for failure of any supporting nation to pay its share of the general and necessary police power tax is to lose the right to representation and to participate in the benefits of the Nation of Nations. But as its share of this world's peace tax will be so much less than the cost of military and naval preparation from which it will be relieved, any intelligent nation will respond cheerfully. The cost of assured peace never will be a fraction of the cost of war or preparation for defense. Any other amount paid will be for use of the high seas and its regulation, so that supporting nations all will be treated impartially. The needs of the Nation of Nations will be moderate, and decrease as world armaments gradually are decreased. So many countries will contribute, the burden on each will be relatively nominal. This plan certainly will be a great saving of money for every nation concerned. It will release from useless military service millions of men, who will become useful producers of wealth instead of mere useless consumers. The economic value of this can not be overestimated. During the next fifty years it will aggregate billions.

Jurisdiction and Limitations

The general jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations is not over people or an empire. It

has to do with other governments only. The special jurisdiction is over the high seas and the waste unappropriated lands of the world, neither of which now are owned by any nation. It also extends to particular places turned over by other nations, as provided in the constitution, in trust for the benefit of all nations without discrimination. In this way prizes of war and disputed territory can be disposed of, and thus prevent further conflict over a division of the spoils. The plan would prevent wars by removing the temptations and causes of war so far as practicable.

One of the greatest defects in government is the fact that, while each nation has a practical system for enacting and enforcing laws for regulation of its affairs and maintaining order among its inhabitants, the great family of nations has no proper means for enacting, construing, and enforcing international laws for regulating the conduct of nations toward each other. It is proposed now to repair that glaring defect. The individual nations will delegate that duty to the Nation of Nations. This will remove what probably is the greatest cause of war now existing. Justice between nations no longer will be dependent upon might only, and small countries will have their rights safeguarded the same as powerful nations.

A careful study of the Supreme Constitution will show that the checks and limitations provided make it impossible for one nation,

or a small group of powerful nations, to use the Nation of Nations for selfish purposes or against the welfare or legitimate interests of any nation. If any other provision is needed to make this more certain, it surely will be inserted before the plan is finally completed. The tentatively suggested basis of representation by supporting nations in the Supreme Senate may be changed by the international congress after thorough discussion. It is intended, however, that every nation shall be equitably represented and have its fair share permanently in the control and management of the Nation of Nations through such representatives. And the basis of representation, when agreed upon by all the nations, shall never be changed without the actual formal consent of three fourths of such nations. That is fair, and all any nation without unfair motives will expect or desire. The representatives in the Supreme Senate of any refractory nation will be more than offset by votes of those representing unselfish and fair nations that have no personal interest in a given question, and stand only and always for justice and the general welfare of all nations. There never has been any practicable way of combining the moral power of the world and bringing it to bear in favor of international justice, except The Hague plan. That was a great advance; but, with no power under its own control to enforce its decisions, the efficiency of that tribunal was

necessarily limited, and can not be made the instrument for preventing all wars of aggression.

The world now must have a great and all-powerful police agency for regulating the conduct of nations toward each other. It must have a legislative body in which all nations can be equitably represented, to enact international laws. It must have a great world-court, possessing the confidence and respect of all nations, to construe international laws and administer justice between nations in orderly fashion as a substitute for war and carnage. And it must have a Supreme Council made up of the greatest men of the different countries, men with capacity for world statesmanship based on right and justice. A Nation of Nations thus organized and conducted will be the greatest blessing to the race ever devised by human agencies.

CHAPTER V

Money Burdens of War

Money Burdens of War

HISTORY ultimately will record and reveal the losses of men and property by the nations engaged in the present world-war. The moral losses also will be appraised. Space does not permit elaboration of these matters here. It surely will appall the world when the final totals are brought together. It is proper in this connection to consider certain inevitable financial burdens entailed by war that usually are overlooked or not fully realized because the infliction is not immediate or in a lump sum.

WAR PENSIONS

Pensions to those incapacitated by wounds and disease in war are legitimate and inevitable fruits of armed conflicts. There is no possible escape, and no desire by the people to escape, this heavy, added, and continuous war burden. Public care of those injured while fighting for country is considered a sacred patriotic duty. Few, however, realize the size of this burden. It is larger in some countries than others, because of more financial ability. But every civilized country is willing to go to the limit in caring for its stricken patriots, their widows and orphans.

The actual experience of the United States,

although no doubt differing from other countries in degree, is highly illuminating and will serve to illustrate. Most Americans will be astonished by the figures. The truth is, since the Civil War, the United States has paid out for pensions more than it spent to conduct that war. In fact, it has expended more than three billions of dollars for pensions during the past twenty years, or as much as the entire cost of carrying on for five years one of the greatest and most bloody wars of all history. The national debt in 1860 was $64,842,287. The cost of war swelled it to $2,678,126,104 in 1867, its highest point. Much of this bond debt was sold at a heavy discount. The total military and naval expenditures of the government, 1860 to 1865, is officially given as $3,093,338,126.

The figures for the first thirty years following the war are not at the moment available, but the amount paid for pensions during that period added to the three billions paid out during the past twenty years will make disbursements for pensions due to war made since 1865 total now, or in the near future, the staggering sum of six thousand millions of dollars. This six billions is not far short of the seven billion dollars comprising the entire stock of gold of the forty-two nations of the earth. It is double the entire cost of the Civil War. It is six times the entire present bonded debt of the United States. By the time the last pension is paid, it likely

will total three times the entire cost of the war.

If this sum could have been used for public improvements, it would have built a dozen modern concrete highways from the Atlantic to the Pacific, traversing every one of the States; constructed two Panama Canals, given the United States a navy larger than all of the present navies of the world combined, built the Atlantic Inland Waterway from Boston to Beaufort, improved most of the navigable rivers of the country, and paid off the entire present national debt of the United States.

In 1914 the amount paid for pensions was $180,300,000. This is equal to the civil cost of running the entire government, which in 1912 was $173,824,980. It is half as much as was spent by the government twenty years ago for all purposes, civil, military, naval, and pensions, when the total expenditure, in 1896, was $352,000,000, of which about $140,000,000 was for pensions.

The above is the pension record, in brief, of just one nation, a peace-loving and peaceable country that abhors war and militarism. The war that inflicted this frightful financial burden on the republic was carried on by 2,670,874 men altogether on the side of the North and 400,000 on the side of the South. One fourth of the entire male population was under arms. The population then was less than 30,000,000.

What, then, will be the pension burden inflicted upon humanity by the prevailing world-war, where more than 20,000,000 men are under arms, equipped with death-dealing devices a hundred times more deadly and representing populations aggregating nearly two thirds of the inhabitants of all the earth?

Interest Burden

Interest and compound interest work days, nights, and Sundays. It never stops. It is an expense, a dead loss. When paid out, it never returns. The nation has nothing to show for the interest it has paid.

The interest paid by the United States, at five per cent and six per cent, in 1867, on its bonded war debt of $2,678,126,104 was $143,781,501. During the ten years following the war the public interest disbursements of the government aggregated over one billion dollars, or more than the entire present bonded debt of the United States. Since the Civil War, the government actually has paid as interest on public debts that were a legacy of war the enormous sum of about $3,000,000,000. That is more than the principal of such debt ever was. It is more than the entire cost of conducting the Civil War. The amount would have totaled six billions of dollars if the resources and high credit of the United States had not enabled refunding a large portion of the public debt at lower rates, much of it at two per cent. Fifty years

after the war more than one third of the principal of the war debt remains unpaid, and we must go on paying interest thereon indefinitely, and perhaps forever.

Other countries do not, as a rule, have the high credit and extraordinary resources and earning power enjoyed by the United States, and their permanent public debts due to wars and preparation for possible wars are relatively much larger. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that the mortgage imposed by war upon the people for pensions and interest, exclusive of the staggering principal, will be four times the entire cost of conducting the conflict.

If the world-war goes on as long as expected, the countries involved are likely to make direct war expenditures aggregating twenty to thirty billions of dollars. This would indicate ultimate indirect war expenditures, for pensions and public debt interest, totaling the incomprehensible sum of one hundred billions of dollars, or nearly three times the aggregate bonded debts of all nations when the world-war began.

The bonded debts of the nations at war, then, would be doubled. Interest rates are certain to be higher. Taxation, even if raised to the limit of endurance, hardly will yield enough to pay all annual interest, pensions, and costs of running the governments. Certainly it will not if military and naval armaments are to go on increasing or even are

maintained at present standards. Hundreds of millions of dollars, then, must each year be borrowed to pay interest and meet deficiencies in revenues. This will create an endless-chain of debt increase that will go on forever, the nations constantly sinking deeper and deeper into hopeless debt under the ever-increasing burden of compound interest. One who may desire to compute the final total loss to humanity by withdrawal of this vast capital from useful occupations and burning it up on bloody battlefields should busy themselves figuring the total compound interest at four per cent or five per cent on the sixty billion dollars of war mortgage on the human race. In less than one hundred years it will aggregate more than the total wealth possessed by all the nations and people of the world. What, then, will it be in a few hundred years, which is not a long time in the history of nations? The principal of these debts now is so large, it never can be paid; therefore, the all-consuming interest burden must be borne by the people forever. And the economic loss due to withdrawal of millions of men from the producing ranks amounts to billions of dollars every year.

Unless the nations of the world unite on some plan that will insure permanent peace and modify tax burdens by a general reduction of armaments, the people who bear most of the burdens may take things into their own hands and adopt means and measures for

their own protection that will be very unwelcome to those who desire to see the present systems of government continued. There is no time to be lost. A Nation of Nations will be the least radical and most efficient instrument for meeting and handling the supreme problem of peace and war. A movement designed to bring about a call for a congress of nations composed of official representatives of all governments to create the Nation of Nations and give it a supreme constitution should be inaugurated at once. The future safety and happiness of all mankind is at stake.

CHAPTER VI

The "League of Peace" Plan?

The "League of Peace" Plan?

Two general plans for guarding the future peace of the world are proposed. Both have the same aim, but they are radically different in structure, method, and character.

The first plan suggests a "Nation of Nations", a new, separate, and supreme Government of governments created and controlled by the civilized nations of the world on the representative plan. It shall take over and exercise, for the mutual benefit of all nations, the burden of preventing international wars and maintaining peace. In this way the nations would relieve themselves of that duty and the frightful and increasing burdens of duplication of armaments and resulting wars. They delegate none of their sovereign powers to the Nation of Nations, but individual nations agree to limit themselves to the extent of not beginning a war of aggression against another nation. That is all there is to it, except that each nation is to financially help support their international police power and equip it with ample and suitable means for protecting all supporting nations against the wanton attacks of other nations. Each nation co-operating in the plan also agrees to elect its equitable portion of the members of the Supreme Senate of the Nation of Nations

so that it will be fully represented in the conduct and management of the Government of governments. There is no other obligation assumed by a supporting nation. It can not be forced or dragged into war against its will or desire. The plan in no sense is an offensive and defensive "entangling alliance" between nations. Any nation is safe if it joins the mutual plan, and it will be in danger and unprotected so long as it stays out and depends wholly upon its own might and treaties of alliance to guard it against aggressive wars.

If European nations refuse to join in such a plan covering the whole world, an "American Nation of Nations" should be created without delay by the various countries having possessions on the American continent. Perhaps this should be done anyway before the war ends. Such new Government of governments for the Western hemisphere would be charged with the duty of maintaining the "Monroe Doctrine" as well as peace between American countries. This would be done on the general plan of the Supreme Constitution herein suggested, changed to better meet the necessities of the case if the operation of the plan is to be restricted to American territories and waters. Such a plan will enable other American republics to safely and honorably join with the United States for mutual advantage and protection. They will gladly do this, because their national dignity impels them to seek an opportunity to do their part as

independent sovereign nations instead of forever occupying the position of mere wards over which the United States is guardian.

Possibly a "European Nation of Nations" will be preferred by the warring countries instead of a Government of governments in which all nations are represented. On the other hand, they may see that the presence of representatives of entirely disinterested and friendly countries from other parts of the world is absolutely necessary as a balance and means for re-establishing friendship and justice between the nations at war.

The second plan suggested is for all the nations of the world to negotiate with each other a treaty or agreement creating one great offensive and defensive alliance to which every nation shall be a party. Instead of Triple Alliance or Triple Entente, this world alliance would be called "League of Peace." It is to be given power to require all nations to join in any war it deems necessary to further its purposes, each nation in advance being in honor pledged to use its entire army and navy and financial resources if such League decides that to be necessary. Without such power the plan would be too slow and cumbersome to be effective. Of course, the League will be controlled in some manner by majority instead of unanimous vote; otherwise it could do nothing, because any one nation by refusing to act would block the whole scheme. Any nation might find itself on the minority side

and out of harmony with the majority any time. Will it be willing, years in advance of the incident, to bind itself blindly to allow a group of other nations to force it into any kind of war anywhere in the world with all its forces, even if the people of the country are opposed to such a war and believe it unjust and unwise? Could people fight effectively in a war they believed to be unjust?

Many distinguished men are giving the League of Peace plan at least tentative consideration. Whether they have yet looked at it from all angles, or given due thought to obvious disadvantages and dangers of the plan as well as the advantages, is, of course, not known. No doubt this will be done before they definitely commit themselves. Their interest in the subject entitles that plan to most serious and thoughtful consideration and treatment. But as all are anxious only to develop and propose the most safe and practical solution of a great and pressing world-problem, they will welcome and desire presentation of objections with the utmost frankness.

It seems proper in this connection to recall the solemn and wise warning of President Washington in his celebrated Farewell Address to the American people, on September 17, 1796.

He asked: "Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor,

or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Should not that policy, which has inspired, guided, and protected the republic for a century, be continued? Is it wise for the United States now to enter into a "permanent alliance" with nations of the "foreign world" by which we agree to unite our entire military and naval forces and wealth with theirs in whatever wars may happen to occur while the experiment of a universal alliance to maintain peace by armed force is being tried? Is it not probable we would thereby "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice"? Is not the danger in this age of giant armaments a thousand times greater than when the "father of our country" uttered his prophetic warning? Would not that plan be worse than no plan, so far as the United States is concerned?

The League of Peace plan seems to be a direct challenge of the wisdom of these words of Washington. It would reverse the policy that has safeguarded the republic since its birth and left no possible excuse for European interference in our affairs, the policy that even has enabled us to maintain the radical "Monroe Doctrine" in the face of the world. Are we now ready to surrender these advantages and national safeguards for the doubtful advantage of helping foreign nations

solve their problems of peace and war, if to do so we must risk our national existence by joining them in an "entangling alliance"? Are we ready to blindly take such a reckless leap into future darkness?

It is quite certain the American people will do no such thing. They will not ignore the warning of Washington. They will not empower any foreign nation or group of such nations to involve their republic in war, even in the hope of advancing the holy cause of peace. If this be true, then no plan will be adopted if a League of Peace alliance is insisted upon. It is believed, however, that the American people would gladly co-operate with the people of other nations in creating and supporting a great world police power, a Nation of Nations, separate and apart from the domestic and political affairs of all nations to guard the world's peace, and will generously contribute their share of the financial expense of such undertaking. They will do this because they earnestly desire to help the cause of permanent peace, and this plan is not an "entangling alliance". They want something practical done, something workable in the interest of humanity to make another great world-war forever impossible.

The Nation of Nations plan described in this volume is more simple and, so far as the United States is concerned, less radical than a "League of Peace" based on interlacing or entangling treaties or contracts between na-

tions. Europe itself is likely to have less confidence in the value and efficiency of mere paper alliances and treaties as instruments for safeguarding peace, in view of the dismal failure of that plan shown by the present war. It at least will want to try something different. The futility of agreements between nations when the crisis comes and selfish interests clash now seems very apparent to all the world. Human nature and weakness is such that agreements of that character will be broken without much moral hesitation.

Would a League of Peace created by and based on international agreements be effective? Is there not danger and perhaps reasonable certainty that the different nations, with their conflicting interests, would again and again radically differ on the policy that should be pursued by the League of Peace at critical times? The treaty cannot in advance anticipate and provide for all problems that will arise. If some nations desired to resort to armed force, and others did not, to carry out the purposes of the League, what would happen? Could the League force the objecting nations to co-operate with their naval and military forces? How would it do it, in view of the fact that the League itself will not have control of one naval vessel or one soldier? That could be done only by part of the nations using armed force to compel the other nations to co-operate. *That is war!* It would mean destruction of the League of

Peace and inauguration of just what the League was formed to prevent, namely, another and greater world-war.

On the other hand, a Nation of Nations would succeed because it has its own ample military and naval forces ever ready for any emergency, and such forces are under the exclusive command of one organized government. The League of Peace would fail because no military or naval forces are under its control or subject to its orders; and before it can act it must laboriously move the judgment of forty independent governments with conflicting interests and ideas. A military or naval force with forty supreme commanders, each with equal authority, would be utterly useless as a world police power and would constantly endanger instead of guard the peace of nations. It is useless to present and urge any plan unless one can be devised that will commend itself as practical and efficient to the hard-headed and skeptical men who control the destinies of the great nations of the world. At such a time, and in such serious matters, it is folly to chase a rainbow, no matter how beautiful it appears or how desirable it would be if only it could be caught and retained.

Does anybody think a mere promise between nations that they will fight no more and will immediately help punish any nation violating the agreement would insure permanent peace and cause disarmament, or even

prevent increase of armaments among nations? If not, then the plan falls far short of what is needed. Humanity needs to have the military and naval load on its back greatly reduced. No sane nation, however, will disarm and leave its neighbor nations armed; and the suspicion and fear and hate engendered by this war will make disarmament more difficult unless it can be done in a way that absolutely guarantees every nation against future aggression. The Nation of Nations can do this. It is only necessary for the nations assembled in an international congress to see that the Nation of Nations will forever be firmly guided and limited by a Supreme Constitution of the right character, managed by able men carefully chosen from the various nations, and provided with ample means and armaments supplied equitably by the nations it is organized to protect. The world's peace, then, will be as safe against disturbance as human agencies can make it. What other plan for accomplishing this desired object is proposed other than the objectional international alliance plan?

If war goes to the point of exhaustion of the fighting resources of the nations involved, all of them will be ready and anxious to consider some plan for insuring permanent peace. It is the only way they can reduce burdens and rebuild their former prosperity. But every nation will object to any plan that would delegate to another nation or group of

nations the exercise of its sovereign power of declaring war, or the right to force it into war without its express consent based on the facts in the case disclosed at the time of the trouble. And unless the suggested "League of Peace" is given power to require the nations to use their armed forces jointly to enforce its purposes, the League will be as impotent as The Hague tribunal, and for the same reason, namely, it would have no effective means or power for enforcing its decrees.

Unless the nations unite on some such plan, the United States should, and will, immediately begin to increase its navy enormously. If necessary to safeguard its own peace and protect the American continent against foreign aggression, the republic will build a navy larger than the combined navies of all the nations of the world. It does not desire to take this course, but is financially able to do so. The cost of such an overwhelming navy would be less than the United States has paid out for pensions since the Civil War. It would be the best and cheapest insurance against war, unless a Nation of Nations of the character proposed is formed and equipped to insure all nations against such wars, or an "American Nation of Nations" is created, as above suggested.

A most serious and perhaps fatal objection to the League of Peace alliance plan is a legal objection. Would it not be unconstitutional, and, therefore, impossible, so far as the

United States is concerned? The Federal Constitution vests in Congress exclusively the power to declare war and provide means for conducting wars. Treaties are made by the President with the advice and approval of the Senate. The House has no constitutional right to participate in the making of treaties. That was the position taken by President Washington.

If a treaty of alliance, named League of Peace, was negotiated and adopted, it would be done by the President and Senate exclusively. It must empower the League of Peace to draw the armed forces of the United States and other countries into war whenever necessary to enforce the League's purposes, or the alliance would be a dead letter from the start. If the treaty contained such a provision, would it not be a virtual usurpation by the President and Senate of the exclusive constitutional power of Congress to declare war and provide means for conducting same? The difficulty could not be remedied by having Congress as a whole approve the treaty, because Congress has no constitutional right to act on treaties. An amendment to the constitution is a long process, requiring approval of the States, and of the people indirectly; and the people would not voluntarily authorize an amendment that repudiated the warning of their first President and entangled their government permanently and helplessly in an alliance with foreign powers.

Other nations, no doubt, are bound by similar constitutional limitations or traditions, or at least would be adverse to surrendering to a League, controlled by other countries, their discretion and freedom of action and the power to involve such nations individually and all their forces and strength in possible armed conflicts in which they might have no special interest. Such altruism does not yet prevail among nations.

If the United States is to have any part or influence in the readjustment following the war, and an attempt is to be made to adopt some plan for abolishing international wars and insuring the world's peace forever, its leading men without delay must agree upon some plan that will commend itself to the practical minds of the world as workable. They must begin to circulate such a plan throughout all nations, so that it can be discussed and deliberately considered by leaders of thought on whom the masses depend for wise guidance. This course is necessary because the end of the war may come suddenly any time, and find public opinion unprepared to take the advanced step necessary if any new plan is to be adopted.

It will be a crime against civilization if, after rivers of human blood have been shed in a great world-war that the nations involved claim was undertaken to obtain peace and national security, the whole matter ends in a mere temporary armed truce and no plan is

inaugurated that will make such wars in the future forever impossible. The peace-loving people of America should at once take steps that at least will relieve them of the responsibility if such a crime against humanity is to be committed. They should present the plan for a Government of governments, or some other equally practical plan, to the nations of the world for consideration, and earnestly work for its adoption.

"League to Enforce Peace"

While this volume was on the press, an important step toward furthering the objects sought by the plan herein presented has been taken. Therefore, publication was delayed so that a brief description of the new movement might be included.

On June 17, 1915, a conference to discuss and inaugurate a definite movement looking toward permanent world-peace was held. It took place in Old Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the room in which the Declaration of Independence and Federal Constitution both were formulated. About two hundred persons, including men of the highest national standing, were present. Former President William Howard Taft presided. The desire seemed to be to make a start, to begin agitation and thought, rather than to insist finally on the precise plan there tentatively outlined as a basis for world-wide discussion.

The significant thing done, however, was the adoption of resolutions, or a declaration, voicing unequivocably the view that *enjoyment of peace depends upon force*, or rather the existence of an adequate international police power capable of "enforcing peace" when that course is necessary. The addresses and discussions revealed a general opinion that the world never will enjoy permanent peace, or even greater security against wars, until a Military and Naval *force* much greater than that of any single power is organized and maintained by the great nations, acting in co-operation, to forcibly prevent international wars and guard the world's future peace. Unfortunately, that is sound doctrine in this world of conflicting national ambitions and interests. The distinguished men voicing this advanced sentiment are among the leading peace advocates of the world. They show that they are practical, in thus frankly, but reluctantly, acknowledging openly an obvious world-fact of such serious importance.

To that extent, the "League of Peace" plan and the "Nation of Nations" plan herein proposed are in complete accord. Beyond that, there is a clear, radical difference between the two plans. They differ entirely on the method to be used in creating, maintaining, and exercising the *armed force*—the international police power—conceded to be necessary.

As explained in this volume and confirmed

by the Philadelphia Peace Conference, the "League of Peace" plan proposes only an alliance between the larger nations based on a mere treaty or agreement. It would be a sort of universal *entente*, as one advocate put it. Of course, it will be "an entangling alliance," because it is proposed to bind all nations to go to war together, whenever necessary, to prevent or punish any one or more of the signatory nations violating the mutual agreement. Might not that plan cause, instead of prevent, wars? Does not that plan go too far in the wrong direction and not far enough in the right direction? Both plans, of course, provide for investigation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. The "League of Peace" plan, however, seems cumbersome, complicated, unscientific, and rather impracticable.

The "Nation of Nations" plan, as suggested in this volume, proposes a new, separate, independent nation, or world-government. It will be a complete organization, possessing the machinery, powers, and governmental means usually employed for accomplishing the objects now sought. It is not a radical departure, but the application of old and proved methods to a new situation. It will be fair to all nations, because each will be equitably represented in the management and control of the Government of governments.

It is highly desirable that the merits and disadvantages of these sharply differing plans be fully compared, considered, and discussed

by the thoughtful press and men of this country without delay. That will make it possible finally to decide which plan is the more reasonable, simple, logical, practical, and workable. Conditions are such that the opportunity to act in this matter may come suddenly any time, and the wise course to pursue should be decided upon before the crisis is reached. If the plan finally proposed by the United States to Europe does not satisfy the judgment of the leaders of thought and action in other countries, the suggestion and tender of the good offices of this country may be rejected. In that event, all nations likely will continue indefinitely exposed to the perils and burdens of frequent armed conflicts, armaments and debts due to "Militarism" must go on increasing, and civilization and the world will have lost much and gained nothing from the awful sacrifices in a world-war at least ostensibly fought only to obtain permanent national peace and security. That outcome would be a world calamity greater than the war itself.

"League to Enforce Peace, American Branch"

Permanent organization of the "League to Enforce Peace, American Branch", was effected after adoption of the resolutions.

Ex-President Taft was named president; Clifford W. Barnes, of Illinois, and George Burnham, Jr., of this city, were elected hono-

rary secretaries; and William H. Short, New York; Louis P. Loehner, Illinois, and J. Augustus Cadwallader, Pennsylvania, secretaries.

The permanent Executive Committee is composed of the following: William Hodges Mann, Virginia; John Bates Clark, New York; Jacob M. Dickinson, Illinois; Austin G. Fox, New York; Henry G. Morris, Illinois; Leo F. Rowe, Pennsylvania; Oscar S. Straus, New York; Thomas Raeburn White, Pennsylvania; Hamilton Holt, New York; Theodore Marburg, Maryland; William B. Howland, New York; John Hays Hammond, District of Columbia; A. Lawrence Lowell, Massachusetts; William H. Short, New York; William H. Taft, *ex-officio*, and John G. Stewart, New York.

Vice-presidents elected are: Lyman Abbott, New York; Edwin A. Alderman, Virginia; Alexander Graham Bell, District of Columbia; Rudolph Blankenburg, Philadelphia; Charles R. Brown, Connecticut; Francis E. Clark, Massachusetts; John H. Finley, New York; William D. Foulke, Indiana; James Cardinal Gibbons, Maryland; Washington Gladden, Ohio; George Gray, Delaware; Myron T. Herrick, Ohio; John Grier Hibben, New Jersey; George C. Holt, New York; Darwin P. Kingsley, New York; Samuel W. McCall, Massachusetts; James B. McCreary, Kentucky; Victor H. Metcalf, California; John Mitchell, New York; John Bassett Moore, New York; Alton B. Parker,

New York; George H. Prouty, Vermont; Jacob H. Schiff, New York; John C. Schaffer, Chicago; Robert Sharp, Louisiana; Edgar F. Smith, Pennsylvania; Charles R. Van Hise, Wisconsin; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, California; Harry A. Wheeler, Illinois; Andrew D. White, New York; William Allen White, Kansas; George Grafton Wilson, Massachusetts; Luther B. Wilson, New York; Oliver Wilson, Illinois; Stephen S. Wise, New York; Theodore S. Woolsey, Connecticut; James L. Slayden, Texas; David H. Greer, New York; Bernard N. Baker, Maryland; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Edward Bok, Pennsylvania; Arthur J. Brown, New York; Edward O. Browne, Illinois; R. Fulton Cutting, New York; John Franklin Fort, New Jersey; A. W. Harris, Illinois; L. L. Hobbs, North Carolina; George H. Lorimer, Pennsylvania; Edgar Odell Lovett, Texas; Samuel B. McCormick, Pennsylvania; Martin B. Madden, Illinois; Charles Nagel, Missouri; George A. Plimpton, New York; Dr. Isaac Sharpless, Pennsylvania; William F. Slocum, Colorado; Daniel Smiley, New York; Frederick H. Strawbridge, Pennsylvania; Dr. Joseph Swain, Pennsylvania; Harry St. George Tucker, Virginia, and Edwin Warfield, Maryland.

Following are the resolutions, or Declaration, adopted:

"Throughout five thousand years of recorded history, peace, here and there established, has been kept, and its area has been widened in

one way only. Individuals have combined their efforts to suppress violence in the local community. Communities have co-operated to maintain the authoritative State and to preserve peace within its borders. States have formed leagues or confederations to have otherwise co-operated to establish peace among themselves. Always peace has been made and kept, when made and kept at all, by the superior power of superior numbers acting in unity for the common good.

"Mindful of this teaching of experience, we believe, and solemnly urge, that the time has come to devise and to create a working union of sovereign nations to establish peace among themselves and to guarantee it by all known and available sanctions at their command, to the end that civilization may be conserved and the progress of mankind in comfort, enlightenment, and happiness may continue.

"We, therefore, believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

" 'First. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers, not settled by negotiations, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

" 'Second. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiations shall be submitted to a council of

conciliation for hearing, considerations, and recommendation.

" 'Third. The signatory Powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

" 'Fourth. Conferences between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in Article 1.' "

According to press reports, during the discussion of the resolutions, Congressman David J. Lewis, of Maryland, pointed out what he termed the "woeful inadequateness of the resolutions," and deplored the fact that no definite program had been agreed upon.

He declared the constitution of the United States was a model upon which the meeting should work. "Had there been as little faith among the fathers who formed that document as there was in the minds of the men who formulated these resolutions," he said, "this nation would not exist to-day, a union of separate States, composed of citizens whose blood represents the thirteen races of the globe.

"The real remedy for war is government—

a government combining a legislative branch, a judiciary agency, and an executive force. The structure which you intend to set up this afternoon provides for no government. What would an organization of this kind have been able to accomplish in settling the dispute between Austria and Servia, which resulted in the present war? This thesis, proposed for adoption, presents unknown, indefinite elements in every paragraph."

One of the fatal defects in the "League of Peace" plan, thus clearly pointed out by Congressman Lewis, will be completely cured by substituting the "Nation of Nations" plan—a Government of governments "combining a legislative branch, a judiciary agency, and an executive force."

CHAPTER VII

Stop Wars By Removing Causes

Stop Wars By Removing Causes

THERE are no natural causes of war. All are artificial, unnecessary, removable. Even the fighting instinct in animals, as well as man, usually is one of defense rather than aggression. No sane human being, civilized or savage, murders for pleasure. There always is a cause, a motive. If the cause, the inciting motive, was removed, there would be no murder.

The same, generally, is true of nations. There always is a cause, usually only a fancied cause, for war. There are, however, many inciting conditions in the world that tend to impel nations to depart from the pursuits of peace and engage in war. To stop war, therefore, it is necessary to change these conditions as far as possible so that they will tend to preserve peace instead of causing armed disputes. If the causes of war are removed, wars largely will disappear among men.

Geographically, and otherwise, there are certain localities on the earth's surface that have been a "bone of contention" causing repeated disputes and armed conflicts throughout modern and even ancient history. Many nations have perished forever in combats over these special spots on the face of nature.

Constantinople and adjacent territory is one such locality. Palestine is another. It would be difficult to estimate the thousands of human beings killed warring for possession of those places during the past three thousand years. And right now one of the greatest struggles of all history is being waged over those places as prizes of war. If the allies should capture them, it is by no means certain that disposition of the prizes between themselves will be accomplished peaceably, so valuable is the strategic importance of the Dardanelles considered by all countries of Europe.

The so-called "buffer states" that have been created of small territories lying between powerful nations, and special sections in dispute, are of the same character. Belgium and Poland are examples.

At the close of this war, the most difficult problem will be disposition of these vital disputed territories and places in a way to give general satisfaction. Each disputing nation feels that it dare not let such places pass under control of another nation that now is, or hereafter may be, antagonistic. It might disturb the "balance" by unduly increasing the power and advantage of one nation over the other nations.

Why not, by mutual consent, turn all such disputed localities of strategic importance over to the "Nation of Nations", to be forever administered impartially for the benefit of all

nations? If the nations interested decide to create the Republic of Poland, why not give it genuine, ample, and continuous protection against outside attack by putting it under the guardianship of the Government of governments? Why not do the same with Belgium, Constantinople, Palestine, and other places likely to cause more wars if left under the control of any one nation?

These are illustrations rather than suggestions, made to induce world-study and thought of grave problems in advance of the critical moment when they must be decided.

Death of Nations

Ancient history largely is only a record of dead nations and empires. Great power, intelligence, and skill in many things failed to preserve their existence.

Will the nations of the present day meet a like fate? Is there no way of escape? Are they all fatalists, expecting final destruction sometime? Are they helpless, unwilling, or unable even to make an intelligent and practical effort to save themselves?

Two great prime causes have worked the wrecking of nations. Some of them died because too weak to resist the demands and attacks of envious or ambitious neighbor nations. Others were destroyed because so powerful they excited beyond toleration the fears of other countries, or were wantonly aggressive. Menaced nations formed a more

powerful alliance or combination and then exterminated the disturber. Excessive weakness or excessive strength, therefore, may cause national downfall.

Any nation possessing great wealth and commercial prosperity is certain to excite more or less jealousy, envy, rivalry, and greed. History shows that more powerful and less scrupulous nations likely will rob it of its rights and possessions unless such country is prepared and able to defend itself successfully.

On the other hand, any nation that is too well prepared for war, that has excessive and overwhelming armaments and forces, is more likely to become involved in war. Temptation, national or imperial ambition, or a tendency to resent too hastily or abruptly real or fancied slights or "insults", may induce lighting of the ready fuse and blow up the world's peace. Hostilities more often are due to wounded pride or conceit, or disappointed ambitions and aspirations, than to intentional insults or reflections on a nation's dignity or "honor". A threat or "bluff", not very serious at first, sometimes leads finally to armed strife. Many wars are wholly due to unjust suspicion or misunderstanding, the explanation of the facts coming too late.

Modern wars are so enormous and deadly, obviously there should be some way to prevent any nation acting hastily on mere suspicion and thus involving millions of people in fatal conflict without just cause. One

false step by any one nation now easily can involve all in a general world-slaughter. It is a strange situation that gives one nation this life and death power over all nations. Will the world now emancipate itself from this constant deadly peril?

There are forty separate and distinct military and naval forces, large and small, each independent of and competing with the others. A different authority with conflicting motives and interests controls each armed force. Every one is feverishly struggling to increase their life-destroying equipment faster than other nations. Under these circumstances, the wonder is that there are not more wars.

So long as these conditions prevail, each nation must go armed solely because other nations are "armed to the teeth" ready for any real or fancied emergency. They naturally go on increasing armaments and military burdens to the limit. Not knowing what may come, each feels that it must prepare for the very worst. And this policy makes it certain that the very worst ultimately will occur. It is a fatal endless-chain. It makes frequent wars automatically inevitable. It is sheer madness.

The wrong is not in preparing for war when other nations are doing so, but in failing to fully realize the utter folly, futility, and wickedness of this wholesale and reckless gamble with human life, and lack of enough sanity, wisdom, and courage to devise and

adopt a plan that will make it unnecessary and useless for any nation to arm at all or be prepared for war. It is hoped that this world-war and its awful sacrifices will at last awaken the nations to the imperative necessity of uniting on some plan to change this situation.

A Police Force Needed

This uncivilized condition in the great family of nations is analagous to that prevailing in a wild, new mining camp. There being no government, no recognized laws or officials to maintain order and dispense justice between individuals, everybody goes armed, and each person settles his disputes by brute force in his own way. This, of course, leads to disorder, violence, and crime. Vigilance committees, like offensive and defensive alliances between nations, are the first and crude means adopted to reduce disorder and increase safety of life and property. But this is not considered a civilized method. Finally, government is organized, laws and ordinances to regulate the conduct of people toward each other and define their legal rights are passed, and a police force employed to enforce such laws and preserve public order. True civilization was impossible until this was done. After that, no one needs to go armed, because everybody dispenses with weapons. The law so provides. If the community had not created a central police power to protect all citizens against lawless attack, and courts to admin-

ister justice, all individuals would have remained armed, and fatal fights and other crimes would have been a daily occurrence forever.

What is true of this primitive mining camp is true of the equally primitive "family of nations". Every nation will go fully armed and ready to fight to the death so long as other nations are allowed to go armed and there is no central world-police power authorized and equipped to protect all nations against unjust attack. Only hopeless dreamers shut their eyes to this obvious and pregnant fact.

Therefore, there can be no true civilization, no certain justice, safety, and peace between nations, until the powers of the world in congress assembled create a "Nation of Nations", or other similar police agency, with the powers and duties set forth in the suggested Supreme Constitution. When this is done, any nation safely can, and gladly will, disarm, because all other nations do the same. No country builds its army or navy as an ornament. It is only designed for protection. It will not maintain expensive armaments after the Government of governments has organized an army and navy vastly superior in strength that always will be ready instantly to punish any nation wantonly violating the world's peace and order. As fear of attack always is the chief cause of increasing armaments, if all danger of attack is removed, nations soon will dispense with

their costly armaments forever. And there is no other way to accomplish that fervently desired end.

With a Supreme Senate to enact laws to regulate the conduct of nations toward each other and define their respective international rights and limitations, a General Supreme Court to construe and enforce such laws, adjudicate between nations, and dispense orderly justice in place of armed conflicts; and an Executive guided by a Supreme Council composed of the great men of all nations to direct and control the forces of an overwhelming and irresistible police power within defined limited lines, charged with the duty of preventing international war and guarding the world's peace, general disarmament will be certain and rapid, militarism abolished, perpetual peace insured, and all humanity freed at last and forever from the burdens, menace, and dangers of devastating and deadly wars.

As the Nation of Nations will be strictly regulated by its written constitution, managed by distinguished men chosen and removable by the representatives of all the various nations, and every act must be open and before the world, the danger of mistakes and abuse of power will be reduced as low as can be done by any human agency.

One great fact should be kept in mind, namely, that every nation will remain in danger of possible ultimate annihilation until a Nation of Nations is formed to protect all

countries against war and injustice and preserve and extend the blessings of civilization and peace to the inhabitants of all the earth.

When this world-war ends, the nations all will want to escape national destruction. They will desire peace. They will be anxious to rid themselves of at least part of the crushing and increasing load caused by militarism. They will seek to rebuild their shattered resources and commercial prosperity. They earnestly will seek ways to promote the comfort, happiness, and general welfare of their inhabitants. They will hope that peace will remain forever and war never again desolate their fair lands. Are these things possible, attainable? Yes.

But the nations now are at "the parting of the ways". There are only two roads leading into the future, the highway of Militarism and the highway of Permanent Peace. They must choose. They can not take both. If they take one, they will be going away from the other.

The military road leads always to war, frequent armed conflicts. Every mile of the route has a toll-gate collecting taxes from all humanity to increase armaments with which to slaughter human beings in unnecessary and avoidable strife. At the end of that road is certain bankruptcy, repudiation, revolution, ruin. Annihilation, the fate of older nations and civilizations, may be the final goal.

The highway of Permanent Peace, on the

other hand, is free from danger. Its sides are lined with flowers of happiness. There are no war toll-gates—no frowning forts or booming guns belching death and destroying or terrifying helpless women and children. Prosperity is everywhere. National honor is safeguarded and secure. Races are taught to love instead of hate each other. The light of liberty no longer is obscured by the smoke of senseless battle. The human race at last has found the true pathway leading to its divine destiny.

Will the nations choose the better way? The welfare, if not the existence, of all mankind depends upon their decision.

Question

If this war is only a stupendous "accident," not premeditated or desired by any nation, and each country is merely fighting to obtain permanent peace and national security, and

If each warring nation can be fully convinced that this plan for an impartial Nation of Nations will establish honorable, permanent peace and insure every country against hostile attacks, then

Is it not possible that a tender of this plan by the United States as a practical way out of the present world dilemma might induce immediate suspension of hostilities and be followed by a peace agreement that provides for creation of a Government of governments, a great international police power, in which every nation will be equitably represented? What is the alternative?

Each nation should realize that it cannot hope for better terms and may get much worse if the war goes on to a finish, to exhaustion, paralysis, and possible ruin.

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